1: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935)1946 NU28 Papago NU28

534 bing, were generally used alternately during one song or dance. It was almost unthinkable that the extremely short songs should be sung less than four times, and usually the directions were: "Rub for the first two repetitions; tap for the last two." Special dance movements corresponded to the rubbing and the tapping.

The notched stick also allowed for variations. It might be short, with the notches far apart, producing a brief, harsh scraping sound, interrupted by long pauses. The stick might be long, when the notches would be far apart and, naturally, there would be more scraping and fewer pauses. Both kinds were used in the so-called "scraping-stick songs," which were to promote growth and drive away evil. This combination of long and short strokes is the nearest Papago approach to an orchestra. But the notches may be close together; in this case the resulting sound is much less harsh and broken. Such a stick is used for curing sore eyes, caused by the little blind man (*pihuri*). The scraper for the notched stick is ordinarily a short peeled stem of greasewood. But for the cleansing dance and the deer-sickness dance it must without fail be a deer's bone. The main reason for this is magical, but the sharp bone makes a sound very different from that made by the rounded stick.

There are several techniques for scraping. The motion is usually downward, but in the scraping-stick songs there are both downward and upward strokes, resulting in a sort of rhythm. In the curing song the stroke must be always down so as "to brush away the sickness." The effect is more staccato and monotonous. The scraping stick may be rested upon the ground or upon a basket drum, which acts as resonator. Here, also, the motion varies with each two repetitions of the song. For the first two repetitions there is no scraping; the stick may be either rubbed on the basket or tapped. For the second two there is scraping, in a specified direction.

The gourd rattle allows of less variation. The original faint sound made by the seeds has been succeeded by the louder clash of pebbles, which are inserted in the gourd. Some up-to-date song leaders have discarded the gourd and placed the pebbles in a small baking-powder can, through which a stick is thrust for a handle. The difference in sound quality is startling.

Only two motions are used in manipulating the rattle—it may

1: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935)1946 NU28 Papago NU28

could not get angry. He gave it the wind for its friend to tell of human approach, but he also caused it to know when its time was come, so that it would submit itself willingly to the hunter.

The deer never appeared as guardian spirit, perhaps because it was a late creation, not one of the "first people," and perhaps, too, because of its timidity. Nevertheless, the deer could send sickness (a cough, which the Papago have now agreed to call tuberculosis). This was the penalty for unnecessary cruelty in the hunt and for disrespectful treatment of the remains. No part of the deer should ever be brought into contact with a menstruating woman. The bones should be carefully put away where no dog could drag them about, and the horns placed on the house roof or in some special repository.[1]

Some men hunted the deer by tracking him down on foot, and for this no magic was needed. An old man famous for this athletic feat told the writer that he had never had a dream in his life.(22) But the traditional method of individual hunting was to use the deerhead disguise, a procedure which was accompanied by songs and dreams. Ceremonialists differed about this form of magic, and most of them did not ascribe it to *I'itoi*. Instead, the author was an evil shaman who corralled the deer and then, on being paid by two young hunters, taught the deerhead disguise and the songs.

Men who used the deerhead disguise were known as *mó'opetam* (headbearers). They were a professional group, who hunted all the year round, except in January ("Moon of Thin Animals"), February ("Moon When the Deer Smell Bad"). Their male relatives tilled their fields for them, and the hunters, in return, made them gifts of venison. The more successful ones even had meat to trade. However, deer were not plentiful, and "if a man got twelve in a year, that was good."

There were many families which had no hunters among them, but in a large group of boys, a father might designate one for this arduous profession. "Are sure you want this?" the youth would be warned by the older relative, to whom he went for training. "You

[1] Kino (Bolton, 1936, p. 372) mentions such a repository among the Gila Pima. Horns can be seen on many old Papago houses, and those from a ritually killed deer are regularly placed on the round house.

1: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935)1946 NU28 Papago NU28

x796
x539

17. Over all the high mountains
An old buck runs.
There I stand and watch,
Dizzily, here and there,
He leaps.(12)

Deer effigy

x796 During the whole performance the clowns circulated among
622 the spectators and dodged in and out through the processions. At the festival of 1932 there were thirty such clowns. They wore the usual dress, consisting of a white cotton sheet, belted at the waist, with a huge bunched headdress of turkey plumes. They ran about, begging for food by signs and squeaks, several relatives of each clown following him to carry the donations. A few clowns always acted as policemen to keep intruders off the dance ground. At noon the procession ceased, while the effigybearers ate, and then the clowns gave a performance. They constructed a little ceremonial house by piling up jars, pretended to dance, to make liquor, and to get drunk. They gave an imitation of planting, harvesting, and looking for rain. When not engaged in some other special performance, they danced about in front of the ceremonial enclosure.

x796 The clown is considered to have healing powers. In old days,
755 at the prayer-stick festival, sick people sat in a row and begged
622 him to come and cleanse them. On being given a handful of corn meal, he would put down his bow and make a clownish search for the white feathers which he kept hidden. With these he brushed away the sickness, or if he carried a cactus stick he might use that, breathing on the patient at the same time. Anyone who merely wanted safety and good fortune could ask for the same procedure.

x796 Many illnesses were thought to result from the breaking of
763 some taboo at the prayer-stick festival. Since the infringement might be slight, one was often not aware of what had happened till many years afterward. When the shaman finally diagnosed the case, either the clown must be called, or a miniature festival with singing must be held. One informant, when a young girl, tripped when she was carrying some paraphernalia in her carrying basket

1: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935)1946 NU28 Papago NU28

for the men of the family, and she attributes her present rheu- 796
matism to this accident. Her mother, at the time, urged her to be 753
cleansed by the clown, but she was afraid. The small boys with the snouted masks may also cure illness by tapping the patient [755] with their feathered wands.[7]

The five villages sometimes finished singing their eight songs 796
apiece in the forenoon. In that case they might go through them again in the afternoon, but usually the performance, with a long pause at midday, lasted until about three o'clock. Then the spectators went home. The feast leader for each village, with the help of the singers, gathered up all the paraphernalia, wands, and effigies and took them a little way out into the desert. There they were left to disintegrate. "No one would touch them; they are too dangerous." The prayer sticks previously made were distributed to all, or at least to the older men, who rubbed them down their bodies, praying, "Let evil fly away. Let me feel well—not sleepy; not lazy." They then placed the sticks in their storerooms or houses for luck. The temporary enclosure which housed the ceremony might be pulled down or allowed to stand, untouched, until it fell. For the next feast, four years later, everything was made new.

THE SUMMER CEREMONY,[8] QUITOVACA, SONORA

The feast at Quitovaca, in the Mexican half of Papagueria, was similar in general outline to the more impressive one at Archie. It took place at the full moon in August, and the villages joining were those in the southern part of the reservation and in Sonora, all "relatives" of Quitovaca.

Twelve days before the festival there was a cleansing ceremony, when a deer was killed and eaten.[9] Then messenger sticks were sent out, indicating that the festival would take place in twelve days. There was no such elaborate preparation as for the Archie ceremony. No songs were composed, and no effigies or prayer sticks made, but the Quitovaca people made their cactus cider at

[7] This and other aspects of the festival have such obvious likenesses to Pueblo procedure that a detailed comparison is in preparation.

[8] This ceremony has been briefly described by Davis.

[9] See p. 119.

1: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935)1946 NU28 Papago NU28

Bowlegged!
Hitcia hdhina!(18)

After each two songs two of the singers walked over to perform an act of purification on the neophytes. They approached each one and laid a scraping stick on his breast and back, pressing down four times. As they did this, they breathed out, while the neophyte breathed in the power being given him. Each singer then spoke to him:

19. Hail! Thus do I to you. You will be like me. You will do much. You will go about much. You will be like me in action.(9)

Any other virtue of the singer might be augured for the neophyte.

As the singers returned to their seats, one man who was a hereditary sprinkler of corn meal, rose and strewed the sacred meal made from flat-headed corn over their baskets and their scraping sticks, also over the piles of salt and of tokens. During all this performance, the shaman sat by the fire, looking into the salt and then around the village in order to perceive any sickness or evil which might be present. He had his magic crystal in his hand and used it to "give light." The songs continued until morning, when the basket of salt was carried around by one of the pilgrims and distributed to the bystanders. As each took a lump, he breathed in from it to obtain power.

BEFORE SALT IS DISTRIBUTED

20. *Hi hianai hu!*
Morning is lulled to sleep.
Hitcia hdhina!
Morning is lulled to sleep.
Hitcia hdhina!
Finely ground corn [salt]
By daylight we will give.
Morning is lulled to sleep.
Hitcia hdhina!(9)

After the distribution the meeting broke up.

The neophytes now passed the usual period of seclusion to make safe the power they had acquired for failure to do so would bring

1: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935)1946 NU28 Papago NU28

317 on them and their families a disease called yellow vomit. The
783 writer has not identified this disease, but has found it frequently
753 mentioned by old Spanish writers as a pest of the country. The Papago say: "It comes from the smell of the ocean or the smell of the Apache. The Whites don't know that: that's why they have it so much."(9)

317 The length of the period of seclusion varied. At Komarik it
783 was one month the first time, then four days.(6) At Akchin, eight
184 days the first time, then four.(6) At Pisinimo it was sixteen days, with a move nearer the house after every four.(1) At Anegam it was four days away from the house, with diet restrictions for four days after the return.(5)

317 In any case, after each four-day period the neophyte was bathed
783 by his guardian in cool water. His face was not blacked as for purification after war, but otherwise he was under the same restrictions. He was not allowed to eat meat, salt, or grease. He must
[262] not look at the sun or go near the fire. For the first day and night, until after the public purification, he was allowed no fire at all. Afterward he could have a small one, but he must fan, not blow it.(6) Every four days the dishes he had used were thrown away, each being "killed" by making a hole in the bottom, and new ones were provided by the women of the family. The women cooked for him, but on a separate fire, or a separate part of the fire, where none of the family food had been cooked. He must use the scratch-
[184] ing stick—according to some, the same which he had brought from the ocean, according to others, a new one every four days. His wife was under no restrictions.[12]

[824] Neophytes generally made their first pilgrimage at sixteen or seventeen, and this experience placed them within the ranks of adults. The seclusion during purification was the time when the
[684] fathers of eligible girls often approached the parents of neophytes to offer their daughters.

[171] [12] This pilgrimage has obvious likenesses to the simpler ones made by Zuni (Stevenson, 1901–2, pp. 354–360; Acoma (White, 1929–30, p. 139); Laguna (Parsons, 1933, p. 226); Cochiti (Goldfrank, p. 9); and Hopi (Beaglehole, "Notes on Hopi Economic Life," Yale University Publications in Anthropology, No. 15, pp. 52–55). It also has many points in common with the Huichol expedition to gather *hikuli or peyote* (Lumholtz, 1900, pp. 126–236 and 268–280).

1: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935)1946 NU28 Papago NU28

Shamans were paid for their love magic, but for their public 756
services in war or rainmaking they received no return. "It brought good to the village, and they had their share."

The function which made a shaman rich was his dealing with disease, but here, too, he was seer and diagnostician more often than healer. This was because in the Papago area there were diverse explanations of disease, each demanding its own form of cure and [753] its own practitioner. The shaman's "seeing" of one of these forms of disease had nothing to do with symptoms. These were ill defined at best, and any one of them might be attributed to any cause. Diagnosis was a purely introspective matter, in which the supernatural influence which had sent disease was revealed to the shaman in a vision. Treatment was then a matter of routine.

There were three supernatural causes of disease, all treated on 753
the principle that like cures like. One was ceremonial lapse, which 756
meant some error or disrespect committed at a ceremony. Against such a breaking of taboo the shaman was powerless, and cure was in the hands of the ritualists who managed the performance. A second cause was the ill will of animals. Each of these controlled some particular disease, sent as punishment on human beings who had offended it. Again the shaman was powerless unless he had dreamed of the animal in question. He must send for that animal's "meeter." Only one kind of disease was usually treated by the shaman himself. This was the kind caused by the intrusion of a foreign object in the patient's body, an explanation which was, perhaps, the most widely accepted of all. The object was thought to have been shot into place by sorcery, and therefore the shaman, a potential sorcerer himself, was the proper person to remove it. His remedy was sucking, and many of the shaman-prophets added this to their other specialties. Some diagnosticians, however, "did not have it in their dreams," and in that case they called in another shaman.[2]

[2] It would appear from Russell (pp. 261–62) that this, too, may have been the case with the Pima. He gives a somewhat confused account by a patient in which four shamans sang in succession. The first two, who gave no treatment, were obviously diagnosticians. The second one, who used the usual curing paraphernalia of rattle and feathers, were probably sucking shamans, for one finally sucked out the evil.

1: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935)1946 NU28 Papago NU28

the leader of a ceremony rendered this service, since he "owned" 755
the rituals. Illness was thought to have been caused by the ceremony itself, in punishment for some disrespect shown by participants or spectators. The remedy was to repeat the performance, or at least part of it, under correct conditions.

Thus the hunt chief could recite his speeches for one sick from the cleansing ceremony, or a headbearer might dance in deerhead disguise. An enemy slayer could go through his purification ritual for one suffering from touching enemy possessions or bewitched by the scalps. The requirements of the prayer-stick festival being particularly rigid, many ailments were ascribed to lapses at that time. In fact, such lapses were the shaman's last resort in cases of chronic rheumatism, since the mistake might have been so tiny as to have gone for years unremembered. If it was not of too long standing, a cure might be made by the impersonator of Navitcu, by a group of singers, or even by the little boys in snouted masks who started the song.[2]

FOR DISEASE SENT BY ANIMALS

A different group of singers dealt with diseases caused by ani- 753
mals. Almost any creature could send an illness, from the tiny gray 825
spider to the mountain lion. Usually it was in punishment for some form of disrespect, since the animals, who fed and instructed the human race, were jealous of their prerogatives. They took vengeance on those who demolished their burrows or killed them with unnecessary cruelty. Also, they punished anyone who walked across their tracks, wasted their meat, threw their bones about, or subjected any of their remains to the presence of a menstruating woman. Finally, they were offended by laziness or by any conduct improper in the Papago code.

Each had a disease which it wielded as an instrument of vengeance. Though the symptoms were vaguely classified, they some-

[2] The Pima, who do not have the prayer-stick festival, nevertheless use the Navitcu impersonation for curing. The impersonator, called by Russell a "Navitco medicine man," is accompanied by a chorus and by *kakspakam* (equivalent of Papago *hokcpatam*, the little snouted boys). They cure a swelling of the knees (rheumatism?) which is sent by "Navitco an evil spirit adopted from the Papagos." (Russell, p. 266.) [171]

1: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935)1946 NU28 Papago NU28

753 times had a relation to traits in the animal. Thus, most coughs came
825 from the deer, "because he snorts and snuffles." Head lice were from the eagle, usually infested with them. Headache and dizziness were from the horse, "because you feel that way when he throws you." Certain animals were particularly common as avengers, the larger ones appearing oftenest. The writer, when staying in a Papago house, was once caught by her hostess swatting flies. She attempted to excuse the slaughter by explaining: "You know, we white people are peculiar. We think flies bring disease."

"Oh," replied the Papago, "we think disease comes from animals, too, but we wouldn't pick on anything so small as a fly. We'd think of big ones, like the badger or the deer."

727 The animals came unsought to their "meeters," giving, perhaps,
759 one song which could be used to evoke their good will.[3] Both men and women received these songs, and often those not otherwise given to dreaming managed this one contact with the supernatural. Said one woman:

> I was out in the desert one day and saw a horned toad looking at me. I knew he meant to say something, and I thought about it. That night, I waked up, and a song began to come to me. But I couldn't get it all. Next morning, I lay still and thought, and then I began to sing it. It was about the horned toad.
>
> For a long time nobody knew anything about it except that my family heard me singing. At last my mother was very sick. They had other singers and nothing had happened. My family asked me to try, but I was ashamed. At last I did, and she got well. Then other people asked me.(26)

752 One modern singer cures injuries resulting from falling off a
776 horse or being kicked by horses and cattle. Since these animals are
777 importations from the whites, his visitant is another white importation, the devil.

[114] [3] Russell says nothing about singers of animal songs among the Pima, yet they must have existed. He gives a list of symptoms and procedures (pp. 262–65) very similar to the ones quoted here. Some of his medicine songs (pp. 312–14, 317, 319, 320–21) are obviously those given by animals. His statement is that these are a remedy for animal-sent disease, and, by inference, the singer is the shaman. However, in the case of the dog disease (p. 263) "someone who knows the dog song is called in to sing." Very likely, there were singers for the other songs also.

1: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935)1946 NU28 Papago NU28

759 the meeter had heard. There was every opportunity for such adap-
787 tation, for curing songs were not secret, like shaman songs. The
533 performance itself was public, and half the village attended to help with the singing and gain a blessing. One boy of twelve, known to the writer, had already a large repertoire of curing songs and would have found little trouble in "dreaming" more.

Some meeters had only one dream and one song but usually, they went on to a whole series, which might involve several visitants. One(17) who supplied many of the songs quoted, was almost a full-time professional, with a song for every ailment. He had a list of symptoms for each disease, gained, he said, by observation of the people for whom he sang. In fact, every singer was able to give some such list. Some symptoms seemed to be so widely known that when they appeared no diagnostician was called for, but the curing singer came in immediately.

755 The singer was invited by having a little corn meal placed in
759 his hand. He came at sunset and sang or recited all night, with
533a pause at midnight to eat. The one seen by the writer had no fetish, but after each song, he leaned toward the patient so that she could breathe from him. If several singers were present, they took turns, each singing his own songs, while the other singers and the audience helped.

The songs below are from several different singers, arranged so that all those referring to one animal are placed together. The statements of symptoms have been added for what interest they may have, and also the fetish and the musical accompaniment demanded by each singer.[4] The songs "were composed by the animals, telling of their habits, so that people would understand them and not cause annoyance." They might, therefore, be comic or disparaging, as well as poetic or realistic. They were never merely laudatory and never in the form of a prayer. But quite usually they began with the animal's name as a powerful form of invocation.

755 BADGER.—*Symptoms:* swelling, or boils on the neck. *Fetish:* a
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[4] Many of these details may have become standardized in the area, since Russell often quotes similar ones for the Pima (Russell, pp. 262–67).

1: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935)1946 NU28 Papago NU28

skin of a badger paw stuffed with grass. *Musical instrument:* basket.(17)

2. There is a thundering going along
   Above me it is going along.
   I fear it.
   I fear it.
   Into my house I go.(20)

BUTTERFLY.—*Symptoms:* diarrhea and sleeping spells in children. *Fetish:* a painted butterfly made of cactus rib. *Musical instrument:* basket tapped with a knife.(17)

BUZZARD.—*Symptoms:* sores of children; results if a buzzard eats some of a hunter's kill while his wife is pregnant. *Fetish:* buzzard-wing feathers. *Musical instrument:* rattle (sometimes a dance in the formation of a girl's puberty dance).(17)

COW.—*Symptoms:* fever in infants, caused by a man tormenting a cow while his wife is pregnant. *Fetish:* a braided cowtail. *Musical instrument:* a basket rubbed with a knife.(20)

COYOTE.—*Symptoms:* itching. *Fetish:* coyote tail. *Musical instrument:* basket, tapped with hand.(17)

3. Dried cholla
   Made into a coyote!
   Yonder it ran to meet me,
   Coyote-like, howling.(20)

4. Our comrade [Coyote], thirsty,
   Just yonder lay down to sleep.
   Quail birds
   Above him fluttered their wings.
   Frightened, he jumped up,
   And having looked everywhere:
   "Haiya, God, my Father!
   Let it rain *now!*"(20)

5. Little gray Coyote!
   Indeed, a dirty girdle
   You make for yourself, of snakes.(13) [8]

[8] A duplicate of this song is found with the Pima (Russell, p. 304).

1: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935)1946 NU28 Papago NU28

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x539

6. Within the house of the bats
Bats flap their wings
Loudly.
The gray partner [Coyote]
Tries to see them.
He goes running around
And peeping in.(16)

7. Coyote, thirsty,
Ran out of his hole.
Up yonder, at Hackberry Well,
He was running about.
Around the water,
He was running about.
Very cautiously
He began to peep in.(13)

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DEER.—*Symptoms:* cough (tuberculosis); attacks hunters who gorge on deer fat, and the immediate remedy is to swallow ashes from the campfire.(22) If the illness is serious, a deer must be killed and eaten without salt. Some placed the deer's head on a pile of sand facing the invalid,(16) or a hunter might take the head, hold it at arm's length, and dance, imitating the deer. Only a hunter can sing the songs, which are the regular deer-hunting cycle. *Fetish:* the deer tail, the basket drum, and the notched stick(17).

FROG.—*Symptoms:* sores on body. *Fetish:* wooden effigy. *Musical instrument:* basket rubbed with stick. (The frog, besides bringing and curing illness, may be invoked for rain.)

x[539]

8. Narrow Mountain upon
A big green frog was hopping.
On the summit a mist
Was lying.(31)

FLY.—*Symptoms:* no symptoms were given. When curing for the fly sickness, take an ember from the fire, rub it between the hands as a fly rubs its legs, chew the powder in the mouth, then put it on the sore. The embers must be black, not red.

1: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935)1946 NU28 Papago NU28

 755 778 753 [539]

9. The fly children!
Their big hands!
Therewith they rub the embers.(20)

There is a small blue fly who brings rain. The children used to catch it, black its head with soot, say: "Go! Bring rain from my grandmother!"

Deer speaks. [539]

10. The little blue rain fly
Huddled close to my horn tip
is hanging.
Greatly shall I be annoyed.(20)

GILA MONSTER.—*Symptoms:* sore feet; sometimes sores all over, from stepping on the animal. Nursing mothers may lose their milk if he crosses their path. The best remedy is to catch the gila monster, tie a red rag around its neck, and send it away, taking the evil with it. Otherwise the *fetish* is an effigy carved from cactus rib, with red cloth around its neck.(26)

11. A lizard maiden
Was thirsty and crying.
A gila monster ran up
And was comforting her.
The lizard stopped, and then
The gila monster carried her off
And took her to wife. 755 778 763 539

12. Down I sit;
Songs I begin.
Down I sit;
Songs I begin.
Here around me
All the earth shakes(22).

GOPHER.—*Symptoms:* menstrual cramps, suffered by women who have sat on a gopher hill "and been married by a gopher." *Fetish:* stuffed gopher skin or the image made of clay from a gopher hill. *Musical instrument:* basket tapped with a stick.(17) 755 753 778

1: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935) 1946 NU28 Papago NU28

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[539]

13. The sun is setting;
The land is growing dark.
In all directions [darkness] keeps spreading,
There songs are sounding;
I shall learn and shall sing.(20)

HORSE.—*Symptoms:* insanity. A white man's disease from a [828] white man's animal. The visitant who gives songs to cure it is 755 another white man's importation, the devil.[6] No fetish or instru- 753 ment. The content of these songs, which have very little to do with the devil, is an example of the stereotyped sort of thing which was quite permissible in original "dreamed" material.

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14. Poor little me!
Around me gather the people.
A devil they think me.
Something the devils make me do.
I mount my horse,
I am going.
I am running about.(12)

15. Far yonder was I running, running.
Far yonder on Cactus Mountains
Was I running.
Thence I saw Mamakumat Mountains.
On them was I running, circling.
Thence I saw Ajo Mountain
On it I was running, somersaulting.
Ceaselessly running!
Devilishly playing!(12)

16. The Hot Springs
Which lie this way,
To them I came.
Thence I saw Twisted Neck Mountain;
Stretching far, I saw it.(12)

17. To a far land I ran.
Oh, it is little devil children!

[6] The Papago word for devil is some approximation to the Spanish *diablo*, usually *djiaul*, or *nyiaul*. The Pima speak of "Nyavolt, an evil spirit, causing a horse to throw his rider" Russell, p. 265. Songs similar to those below are quoted on pp. 329–30.

1: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935)1946 NU28 Papago NU28

There they met me. 753
They took me. 755
And westward they led me, 539x
Trying to tell me something.
I could not learn it;
I could not learn it.
They left me.
Then I ran back,
Trying to understand.(12)

18. Now, here I have finished;
Yonder I have been running about,
Yonder, in my old haunt,
A devil is tied.
Thither I ran, and by the ear I took him.
I blindfolded him; he snorted
And blew upon my heart.(12)

HORNED TOAD.—*Symptoms:* sores on feet from stepping on a 753
toad. *Fetish:* wooden image or live toad. After the singing the live 755
toad may be set free with something red tied around its neck as 778
an offering.[7] *Musical instrument:* basket rubbed with a stick.(17 and 25)

19. A little gray horned toad shaman [539x]
Lost his wife;
All over the earth he ran,
Sorrowing.(26)

20. The red ants
Are throwing darkness toward me;
I fear it.
Four times sideways I tilt,
And in yonder direction I run.

OWL.—*Symptoms:* sleepiness and dizziness; "heart-shaking." *Fetish:* tuft of the down from under the owl's wing. *Musical instrument:* basket tapped with a stick. Some said the owl is the only

[7] Cf. the Isleta custom of tying a piece of yarn around the horned toad's neck and telling it to "go make a manta." Parsons, 1929-30, p. 211n. Also Parsons 1925 p. 136n.

1: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935)1946 NU28 Papago NU28

sickness for which a woman may sing.[8] "The songs are easy; the others songs would make her insane."(25, 26)

The owl speaks.

[539]

21. Just before me
The evening is growing red.
I fly out, and four times
I hoot.(20)

QUAIL.—*Symptoms:* sore eyes. *Fetish:* the quail's top-knot. *Musical instrument:* scratching stick and rasp.(17, 25)

[539]

22. Quail children under the bushes
Were chattering.
The comrade [Coyote] heard them.
He ran up, pattering softly,
And stood wiggling his ears in all directions.(20)

RABBIT.—*Symptoms:* convulsions in children, caused by the father killing a rabbit during his wife's pregnancy. *Fetish:* rabbit tail. *Musical instrument:* basket and scraping stick.(25, 26)

[639]

23. The sun sets;
The flat land is black.
Here, at the tips of my ears
A narrow [strip of] darkness lies.

ROAD RUNNER.—(chaparral cock) *Symptoms:* sharp pains in the stomach. *Fetish:* a sharp ironwood stick (because the pains are sharp)—.(20) No song recorded.

SNAKE.—*Symptoms:* pain in the abdomen (which seems to twist and wiggle like a snake). Caused, not by snake bite, but by stepping over a snake's track. *Fetish:* a snake carved from a crooked greasewood branch. *Musical instrument:* basket, tapped with a knife.(17)

[539]

24. Crazy children
Threw dust in my eyes.
I want to do something for myself.
Four times I breathe deeply.(20)

[8] One who "meets" the owl may also commune with the dead who take owl form. This permits of curing sicknesses caused by the dead. Miss Densmore quotes several songs of this sort. Densmore, pp. 114–34.

1: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935)1946 NU28 Papago NU28

TURTLE.—*Symptoms:* sores on the feet. *Fetish:* a rattle in turtle shape with marking on one side. *Musical instrument:* same as fetish.(25 and 26)

25. A little black turtle,
Just yonder at Pitcikin,
Got drunk.
The girls he ogled.
Trying to talk Mexican,
Trying to talk American.
"See how bright I am!"
Said the turtle.(31)

26. Little black turtle,
Little shaman,
Over there goes crawling, crawling, crawling,
Over there goes crawling.(31)

27. A little black turtle
Toward Badger Well was crawling;
Toward it, squint-eyed, he was looking.
He stood near me,
And twisting up, he looked at me.(26)

28. Little full-bodied turtle,
All alone!
His wife ran away,
Yonder, up Baboquiviri, he climbs,
Trying to look for her.
But he did not find her.
So he fell down and died.(20)

A war song by the turtle when he followed a war party and outstripped them all in valor. *Haiyu* is turtle language. The turtle's bravery is due to his thick back. He can't be killed.

29. *Haiyu, haiyu, haiyu!*
Upon the green rock
A green eagle descended.
Haiyu, haiyu, haiyu, haiyu, haiyu!

Not only animals caused sickness, but plants, winds and undefined mythical beings. A very common one was *pihuri*, spoken

1: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935)1946 NU28 Papago NU28

753 776 of as a little old blind man with red-rimmed eyes. He passed people on the road, and the wind blowing from him to them caused trachoma and other eye troubles. A whole series of songs describes *pihuri's* personal habits. No fetish is used. The musical instrument is an especially stout scraping stick of cactus rib with very fine notches.

753 776 x539

Pihuri is a great gambler.

30. Am I not *pihuri, pihuri, pihuri!*
Lo, the playing cards painted;
I like them!
They are like a magnet [to draw winnings].

Pihuri is so old that he even pounds up fresh deer meat before cooking, so that he can chew it.

31. Lo, it is Badger shaman!
At night he runs.
Deer meat he brings.
Lo, it is *pihuri,* the little old man!
The meat he is pounding.(20)

Pihuri has a good metate, which all the girls like to use. Now pihuri has a protégé sleeping in the house, and the girls are afraid of him, so grinding is heard in all the other houses, except pihuri's.

32. Lo, I am *pihuri's* little familiar.
I lie in the house.
That is what you [girls] are afraid of.
Are you afraid of me
Around me in all [the houses]
There is the sound of grinding.
In all [the houses]
There is the sound of grinding.(20)

776 824 [171] Some informants thought that *pihuri* was a plant which took human form. It is supposed to be an intoxicant, and there is some mysterious connection between it and the deer. The Pima are said to consider it a tree growing in Mexico.[9] These scraps of information suggest a connection between *pihuri* and the Huichol *hikuli,* peyote. It is possible that they represent a few vague rumors as

[9] Russell, p. 79. Russell also speaks of "Piholi" as an evil spirit (p. 265).

1: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935)1946 NU28 Papago NU28

to the Mexican plant. Two songs illustrate this aspect of *pihuri*, 776 824
though they are used for curing sore eyes, just as are the others.

33. The deer is drunk; 776
The deer is drunk. 824
Around the great mountain he runs.(20) 755 539x

34. There is the sotol blossom fallen down;
Toward it I run.
It fell on the leaves of the *pihuri*,
And I run toward it.
It will make us drunk.
In a circle we shall go singing.

There is the sotol blossom fallen down;
Toward it I run.
It fell on the leaves of the *pihuri*,
And I run toward it.
It will make us dizzy.
In a row we shall go singing.(20)

Two other plants take human form and cause hallucinations. One is *Datura meteloides* (jimson weed). The song for it is:

35. Here you brought me to the liquor.
It was very good.
I was very drunk.
Hither you brought me,
And an eagledown headdress you made me.(20)

The other plant is the unidentified *tcĭnacat*,[10] which has here been called lizard weed. For this no song was obtained.

It is possible for sickness to come from almost any phenomenon 753 ●
in nature, depending, perhaps, on the imagination of the shaman. 755
Such illnesses are rare, and the only one mentioned was from the whirlwind. *Symptom:* dizziness. *Musical instrument:* basket and scraping stick.

36. A little gray whirlwind [539]x
Is trying to catch me.
Across my path
It keeps whirling.

[10] See the Pima song (Russell, p. 229), where the word is spelled *TCU-Unarsat*.

1: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935)1946 NU28 Papago NU28

776 753 The most dangerous of all mythical beings were the scalps, the "prisoners"[11] who lived inside a warrior's scalp basket. These might plague their owner's family, his visitors, and even the warrior himself, if he had neglected them. They emerged from their basket in the form of little men, very dirty and fierce, in Apache dress. They peeped through the door at the sufferer, twitched his blanket, and tickled him. If he were their owner, and they had not been fed, they might ask for food or offerings. If he were a visitor in the house, they would frighten him by whistling and swinging to and fro in the basket.

Women suffered more seriously. All lovesickness and sexual malaise were attributed to the scalp mannikins, who were thought to caress women in their sleep and even have intercourse with them. If a man had hallucinations that his wife was unfaithful, it was due to the same cause. The remedy for this was not the 776 war purification songs, but a special set of scalp mannikin songs, 755 dealing with their sexual aspect. These songs were the property [424] of enemy slayers, but in recent years have been learned by others. x539

SCALP MANNIKIN SONGS

The scalp mannikin sings.

37. "Under the sun's rain house I stood;
My blossoms I strewed and ran."(31)

38. A scalp meeter girl
Comes here,
With lovely flowers;
The scalp children,
Yonder, ran out
All covered with flowers.(20)

39. What did you do to me?
You made a scalp basket.
Lo, you made a house for me,
Thus doing;
Within it you wrapped me.
The sun set,
Then I came out.(20)

[11] Cf. the Pima *tcúnvim*, "an evil spirit exorcised by a strand of Apache hair" Russell, p. 26[illegible]. However, *tcunvim* is the word for smoking and may refer to purification. One song quoted (p. 325) is classed as *kokpU*, which means prisoners.

1: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935)1946 NU28 Papago NU28

755
776
x[539]

I can do nothing
There; before me he is groaning.
The scalp songs cast light.
Therewith it is ended.(20)

● 753 Lovesickness in men might also be due to the scalp mannikins
755 and might be cured by the scalp songs. But it was more often attributed to the light women who filled the role of courtesans or
[792] prostitutes. As a fetish a little clay figure of a woman was made, or of a man and a woman. The curing songs were the songs of the light women which were sung at the drinking festival. One was quoted as being used especially for lovesickness. It was sung without musical accompaniment, by anyone who knew it.

Addressed by a man to the light woman who takes him to dance.

46. Women surround me.
Yonder songs are sounding;
Toward them they lead me.
Yonder songs are sounding;
Toward them they lead me.(31)

47. Yonder toward the west I run;
Running, I sing.
A man I see who is carrying a woman.
He takes me with him.
My heart glows blazing.(31)

753 Eagle and salt sicknesses were less common. The eagle sickness
755 generally showed itself in nosebleed or in lice. It resulted from the breaking of a taboo connected with eagle killing and could be cured only by an eagle killer, using his tuft of down as a fetish.[12]

THE HERB DOCTOR

759 In addition to the singers, we should list one practitioner who had not necessarily any connection with the supernatural. This was the herb doctor. In one sense, every housewife in Papagueria was a herb doctor for as a by-product of her food gathering she

[12] A similar treatment among the Pima is indicated by Russell, pp. 265 (eagle and hawk), 289, 335.

2: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935)1939 NU28 Papago NU28

ceedingly afraid of it and the woman helper wrapped it so that they would not see it. Then they picked it up with sticks and dropped it into the hole. 844

After the birth, mother and child remained in the segregation hut for a month. The mother must eat no salt until the end of the umbilical cord fell off, or the child's navel would get sore. The best food for her was gruel of cactus seeds or mesquite beans, which was thought to make her strong. She must not wash for the whole month or she would have rheumatism. According to one informant, her husband at this time used separate dishes which at other times were kept outside the house (26). The wife in the segregation hut used the same dishes she had at menstruation. 846

"When the moon had come back to the same place", she and the husband and child went through a purification ceremony. They went at dawn to a shaman who made a specialty of this ceremony and of child naming. He drew a circle on the ground and placed the mother in it with her back to the east. She held the child. The father, according to some informants, sat in the circle with her (26), according to others, on a cross marked to the south of the circle (1), or simply on the ground outside. 846 783

The shaman kept a special kind of yellow clay found mostly in Sonora. He scraped a little from the dried ball in which it was kept; mixed it with water and pounded owl's feathers and stirred it with an owl's feather. He "cleansed" the parents by dusting them off with his shaman's plumes. Then, carrying the bowl of clay and singing, he walked back and forth four times, from west to east, toward the mother and the rising sun (26), or around the circle (1). Then he had both parents and child drink from the bowl, the order varying, according to different informants. If the baby would not drink, the shaman drank a little and spat it into the baby's mouth. Then he gave the child a name which had no connection with the parents or their families, but referred to something he had dreamed. Such names were often poetic, as Boiling Wind, Hawk over Water, Dawn Singing. [553]

The woman was now considered cleansed and might go back to the family home with the baby. The shaman was paid a basket or some food.

The omission of the ceremony would make both parents and child sick. An unmarried mother must hold it, but without the father. A divorced woman went through it with the baby, while her husband went through it separately. If a woman went through it with her husband, when he was not the baby's father, the husband might die. [753] [848]

2: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935)1939 NU28 Papago NU28

847 If the baby died and the woman wanted another, she buried it near the surface. If she wanted no more, she buried it deep. Women [848] professed to know nothing about means of abortion saying that there was little need for them, since an unmarried mother suffered no stigma. Deformed babies and those born by "light women" who did not want the burden were dropped in an arroyo to die of [843] exposure. It was considered that a woman who had a husband and did not bear children would soon die herself of the unnatural condition.

845 756 Twins were considered to be born shamans. People regarded both them and their parents with some awe, since whatever they said would come true. Thus, if they said a certain person would die, he would: if they called him ugly, swollen, lame, he would become so. Therefore everybody made offerings to twins (the word used is the same as that for offerings made at a shrine). Their parents did the same. Anyone who rebuked a twin suffered. One informant slapped the cheek of a twin who annoyed her while gambling and immediately her arm swelled. She went to the twin for relief, bringing a gift. The child wet her fingertips in her mouth and touched the arm which immediately healed.

This power of twins did not persist beyond childhood unless they had dreams and became shamans in the regular way. However, they usually did so and were much more likely to dream than the average person. If one twin died, the other died also.

CHILDHOOD

[862] Babies were nursed until they were two and three years old. ● 753 853 One informant said, "My babies died. It was because they came too fast. When there was a new one coming, there was not milk for the old one" (26). The cause of most infant complaints was supposed to be the fact that the fontanelle did not close properly. A shaman or an old women who had dream power inserted a finger in the child's mouth and pushed on the palate. This was thought to push up the [757] whole top of the head and close the fontanelle. Diarrhoea was treated with the vapor of canyon ragweed. The leaves were wet and a hot cloth laid over them, then the infant was set on the cloth in the vapor. Children's fevers were thought to be due to the hot breath of a dog. They and other diseases were treated in the regular way by the shaman.

854 The child was carried on the cradleboard until it was able to walk. Mothers, on their long expeditions to fetch food and water, placed the cradleboard on top of the other contents of the carrying basket and while they worked, stood it against a tree. When the

2: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935)1939 NU28 Papago NU28

836 this way of life but simply gave up and allowed her to have her way. If she had children, they would take care of them, since no stigma attached to a fatherless child. The only penalty was that they could not find her a husband, because she was not industrious. But when she was ready to settle down, she frequently found one for herself.

The mother of one informant is reported to have been such a woman. She had wandered to the Altar valley, where she met the young chief (American appointed) of a desert village. "Will you take me to your home?" she proposed. "Would you pick cactus fruit for me, grind my corn and fetch my water?" "Yes. I will pick cactus, grind corn and fetch water." She settled down and spent her life as an industrious wife.

Such incidents were not infrequent. In taking family histories, I several times heard the statement, "He married a light woman", without any other comment than a smile. "The light woman can't help it," informants explain. "Her heart bubbles over" (20). "When you talk to her, she doesn't know what you say. Her heart is outside her, running ahead, to the next dance" (31). Some of the most poetic of Papago songs deal with "the wandering heart" of the light woman.

836 Men who were flirtatious and had many sex affairs were also
832 alluded to as playful but they did not form a distinct class like the women. Both men and women might be made ill by dreaming about
753 the playful people. The symptoms were dizziness and lassitude. The
787 cure was to make clay dolls in the form of man and woman and to have someone sing the girl's puberty songs. Lovesick visions were a common ailment and were attributed to several causes. An
[824] unidentified root, called tcĭnaca't,[1] was used by men to attract both deer and girls. This root could assume the form of a man, enter a woman's house and cohabit with her after which she would
[778] pine. Also the scalps or the Apache effigy in an Enemy Slayer's basket could take the form of a handsome man, and torment women with yearning.

831 If anyone, man or woman, thought too much of a person of the
825 opposite sex, even though that person were a spouse, a snake would come and cohabit with the dreamer in the place of the loved one. Many tales are told of people who supposed themselves happily married, while others knew that they were going daily to the arroyo to lie with a snake. The same fate will overtake one who is not yet married and who thinks too much about love. Young people who look dreamy are reprimanded: "What are you mooning about? You must be married to a snake."

[1] cf. Zuni tenatsali.

3: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935) 1936
NU28 Papago NU28

out in the desert, running, he would drop and lie for an hour or two. Sometimes it happened two or three times between one full moon and another. 159x 756

When it began happening my father and mother called in a medicine man to find out what was the matter. The medicine man only looked at him and blew smoke over him. Then he said: "Let him alone. He is all right. He is learning." So my father and mother were glad. My grandfather had been a medicine man. He had said when he was dying that none of his children would dream as he had but that his grandchildren would. And they did. Yes, I, too. After that we would hear my brother singing at night when we were all lying on our mats. He never told us where he got his songs. But we knew that, when he was dead like that, he met some animal and the animal taught him. Sometimes when a medicine man was singing in our house, my little brother sang with him.

Many medicine men used to come to our house, for we were often sick. In the hungry time before the rains, it used to happen to us. Once, when I was little, we had the owl sickness. My father, my mother, my brothers, and sisters, and I all had it together. We felt sleepy and dizzy and as if our hearts were shaking. We knew it came from the owl, because it always does, but we sent for the medicine man to make sure. Do you do the same? [753]

He came in the evening and my father had tobacco ready for him. He sat and talked for a little while, gossiping about his family, and my father and mother talked with him while we children lay on our sleeping mats. Then he began to sing. It was dark except for the fire and I could just see the rattle going to and fro in his right hand, the way a dog switches its tail. To and fro for the first two songs, up and down for the second two. You cannot tell what a medicine man sings. He sings his dreams and he sings them in a voice that is not like a man's. It takes him many years to learn that strange voice. But at the fourth song sometimes he sings real words and you know what animal came to visit him and taught him. 159x 755

After the fourth song he smoked a cigarette made in a joint of reed long as my hand, as old cigarettes used to be. He put his hand on our bodies while he smoked to feel the sickness, and he listened and looked out in the dark. I was not frightened when he put his hand on me. My mother had said to me beforehand: "The medicine man will do what he knows and you must not be scared." So I went to sleep.

But my father and mother sang with him all night. He sang one song so often that they learned it. And my little brother sang, too. After every fourth song he smoked a whole cigarette.

Then he took out the crystals which he had to see by. Those are crystals which a man keeps inside his breast. They are little shining things, as long 159x 756 787 826

3: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935) 1936
NU28 Papago NU28

as a finger joint but they cast light like a fire. Some medicine men dream where to find them and they go out in the bare mountains and see them lying there, burning in the sun. Then they swallow them and keep them safe in their hearts. But some men never have to find them. Their crystals grow inside them as a worm can grow. Even if you suck it out, still it grows again. Those are the men who have great power.

Our medicine man had crystals which he had picked up, but he told my father that when he swallowed them, they leaped into his mouth out of his hand and went down his throat like water. He never took them out again because he could see even while they were in his body. While he was sitting there in the house he could see things going on outside and inside, too. Even if someone was coming far away, he could see. At dawn he said to my father: "It's this way. The owls are making you sick."

My father gave him a heifer because we always paid the medicine men well, and then we had to sing away the owls. When an animal is making you sick like that, you sing many songs about him to make him feel better. Any kind of songs. Songs that make you laugh and songs that tell where he lives and songs that say mean things about him. The animal does not care. He likes to be sung about.

People had to be sent for who had dreamed of owls, because that is how all songs come, by dreaming. Owl songs are pretty and even women can dream them. Many owl singers came to our house, and all the neighbors crowded in to listen:

Evening is growing red.
Straight above me the color spreads out
In all directions.
I fly out and hoot at it
Four times.

I learned that song. Later on I dreamed of owls, too. When they sang I felt very peaceful; I knew things would be all right. The singers brushed me off with owl feathers and I went to sleep. At midnight my mother gave them a big meal of succotash and at dawn they went away. In two days we were well.

I used to try to sing owl songs after that. It seemed to me that I was always just going to dream about an owl. But I am not sure if I did.

Every winter there was singing in our house. We had the deer sickness, which makes you swell, and Hit-with-the-Heel came to sing the deer songs. Or we had the turtle sickness which makes you sore, or someone stepped over a snake and we had the snake sickness which makes you vomit. I

3: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935) 1936
NU28 Papago NU28

know those songs. Many nights I lay on my mat, hearing them each one 159x
four times, eight times, sixteen times. Some women are thinking only of 755
baskets and they do not remember such things. But I remember. 533

Once I got sick myself. It was from my father's scalps, they said. My 159x
father had been a Slayer three times by then and in our house there was a 798
basket with four Apache dolls. Prisoners, we call them. My father would 782
send us all out of the house, and he would take down that basket and talk to them. "Now, my children, I am going to give you tobacco. Now, my children, here is a little food for you." Then he would give them some of the good squash we had just taken from our field.

But somehow he must have angered them, so that they felt they were [753] ●
not treated well. Those Prisoners are very wild. They come out of their basket like little men and run about the house at night. It happens even if you do not make them into dolls as my father's guardian did; even if you simply lay the hair in a basket. They come like handsome men and lie beside women and make them sick. They pinch you and pull your hair at night, or they swing up and down in their basket and whistle. Sometimes a man comes home to see a handsome young man coming out of his house. He goes in angry to his wife, and she says there has been no one there. It was the scalp. Then the owner must give it eagle feathers and speak kindly to it. These Prisoners are dangerous.

They did not come like a man to me, but my head ached, I vomited. I ached all over. The medicine man sang and smoked all night, and then he said: "It's the Prisoners."

The only thing to do was for men who had taken scalps to come and 159x
sing for me the songs they had dreamed when they were being purified. 755
There were four Slayers in our village. They were Spider Hole, Squirrel Ear, Yellow Legs, and one had just a Mexican name, José.

They came in the evening. My sleeping mat was moved up close to the fire and they sat around me. Each had four down feathers from under the tail of an eagle fastened to a little stick. That is one of the most sacred things we have, those eagle down feathers, because they bring the rain; they almost *are* the rain. All men who have Prisoners have those feathers to keep their Prisoners quiet.

They took their feathers out of little deerskin bags, and then took gourd rattles in their right hands. I like to hear a gourd rattle; it makes me want to dance. But it cures the sick, too. It is a great thing.

First Spider Hole rattled, and sang four songs that had come to him in his loneliness after he had killed an enemy. Then he blew over me and he cleaned me with the eagle's feathers, brushing them over me. Then all the

3: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935) 1936
NU28 Papago NU28

said: "Come and get firewood. Do you want to grow up a lazy woman?" 159x
So then I went out in the dark to pick up the dead branches and bring them 881
back before I slept. It seemed I slept only an hour before they were saying:
"Get up! Get water. Get wood. Grind the corn. If you sleep at this time
you will be sleepy all your life."

Oh, I got thin in that time! We girls are like strips of yucca fibre after [262]
our coming of age is over. Always running, and mostly gruel and ash bread
to eat, with no salt. And dancing every night from the time the sun sets
until morning-stands-up. I used to go to sleep on Luis' arm and he pinched
my nose to wake me.

Every night they came, the people who were not too sleepy from the
night before. And always the young people came. Even Luis did not know
songs enough for all that month and other men sang, too. It is a nice thing
for a man to know maidens' songs. Every man likes to dance next to the
maiden and to hold her on his arm. But Luis was an old man and his wife
danced opposite. The wife always does.

At last the moon had come around again and they gave me a bath. It 159x
was over. I looked like half of myself. All my clothes were gone. All our dried 881
corn and beans were eaten up. But I was grown up. Now the medicine man 783
could cleanse me and give me a name.

You have to be cleansed as soon as the month is over; you must not
wait. A cousin of mine did that once. She meant to be cleansed but she
just waited. I think, perhaps, she did not have anything to pay the medicine
man. But while she waited, one of her brothers was chopping wood. Some-
thing fell on him like a hot coal and killed him. So I went the day after my
bath.

My mother and I went to the house of the medicine man early in the
morning, with a big basket my mother had made, to pay him. He drew a
circle on the ground and made me sit in it, crosslegged, with my back to
the rising sun. In front of me he put a little dish. Then he walked away
where we could not see him and took something out of a little deerskin
bag. It was the clay that he carries to charm the evil away from women.
No one ever sees the medicine man dig up that clay and no one knows how [753]
he mixes it. But I know, because my brother was a medicine man and be-
cause I myself have seen things. He grinds up the bone of a dead man and
some owl feathers so that they are fine dust.

He put that clay in a tiny bowl before me, mixed with a little water.
Then he walked up and down four times, facing the sun that was behind
me. Every time he came up to me he blew over my head and dusted me
off with his eagle feathers to brush away the evil. And every time he turned,

X 159 That coyote rose up and said: "Do you want to see something?" "Yes."
787 My husband died right there and the coyote carried him away.
756 The other men wanted to go home and they said: "Where is he?" But the leader knew about these things. "He must have Met something. Let him alone."

Next morning my husband awoke and found himself lying by that dead coyote. He went back to the others but he never told them what he had seen.

Only after that he used to go out at night and Meet the coyotes. He would leave early in the evening and come back looking sick or drunk. The coyotes had killed him and taught him while he was dead. He did not tell us this in the house, but we all understood. The same thing was happening to his two brothers and had happened to his father before him. It was coyote who Met them all.

X 159 After a while the people began to know that he had something. They
756 would ask him to come and find their sicknesses for them, because people have great faith in a young medicine man. They think he has more power than an old one; he has not used it up. My husband had got himself a gourd rattle and some eagle feathers. We get our gourds down in Mexico where they grow them large and beautiful. He glued a handle on one with some
[324] mesquite gum and put some pebbles inside; nice little pebbles that you find in the wash among the ants. He got eagle feathers from an old man and tied them on a handle, four of them, tied two and two, beautifully wound about with string. He went to the houses and sat all night, rattling the gourd and singing, and they gave him clothes and food. We got rich.

X 159 Six children I had by my husband, for he was a strong man. I never
853 had any trouble in childbirth. And I could tell what sex they would be before they were born. If the movement in my womb were strong, it would be a boy. I had five boys. I was unlucky with them, though. As soon as a new one came, the one before it died. I know a great deal about children, now that I am old, and I think it was the milk. We nurse our children till long after they can walk and talk. We must. We have no cow's milk. What would they eat? But my husband was such a strong man. The children came so fast. I was always nursing one while another was coming, and then the nursing one died.

X 159 Perhaps, though, it was only diseases that came by bad luck. That is
● 753 what my husband said. He treated our children; they were among the first
755 he sang for. One had jackrabbit sickness, which is a sort of coughing and choking that comes to a child so it cannot breathe. Another had dog sickness. I suppose a dog must have breathed on me with its hot breath before the

3: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935) 1936

NU28 Papago NU28

child was born, because the baby had hot breath for days and days before it died. 159x 753 750

I always knew when my children were to die. I am one who knows things, because, even though they took my crystals out, there was always something in me. Once, when my baby was sick, I dreamed that I was passing through a wash. A woman sat there with a child, and its hair was blowing back as though it was in the water, only the wash was dry. I said: "What are you doing here?" "We live here." I knew that meant something strange was coming. 159x 787

Another time I dreamed that someone who seemed a medicine man again led me to a wash. It was full of babies and children, big and little, all crawling around over each other, like worms. "What does it mean?" I asked that man who took me. "It means all your children are going to die. You will have no children at your house."

But I saved one child, a girl. I gave her to my mother to nurse, because an old woman can nurse with us, as well as young ones. That girl grew up. She used to sit on my head when I was running along with the carrying basket, sometimes with another baby on top of it. I took her out to the hills with me when I was gathering fruit and cactus. 159x

"Never step over a snake," I told her, "nor even the trail of a snake for you will have the vomiting sickness. Don't step on a horned toad, it will make you foot sore. And you must learn the difference between the big ants who are the medicine men and who sting and the little kind ants that will not hurt you." [869] [825]

When all our family camped for days and days, to bake the cholla buds, we made a little enclosure of boughs for our children. "Stay there and do not play hard. You will be thirsty and drink up our water." So they made dolls out of leaves and played at grinding corn with sand and little flat stones. Sometimes the children brought us something to eat. In the Month of Rain, when the birds got their feathers wet in the thunder storms so they hopped along the ground and could not fly, then our children would chase them and catch them in their hands. Doves and woodpeckers they brought in to us, and we roasted them on a spit with the feathers on. 159x 854 224 857

We like children, you know. We talk to them quietly and tell them what to do, but we do not scold. When our children are running about the house, in and around everything, we let them run. If they break something, then that thing is just broken. We do not say anything. Sometimes they run across the circle when we are dancing. Or when the medicine man is going about with his branch of thorns, removing sickness, they might try to grab it. No one would speak about that. We like them to be happy. 159x 854

4: Joseph et al D, E-5 (1942-1943) 1949
NU28 Papago NU28

and singing, as it does in the wine ceremony, not cruelty and fighting. Women say that they sometimes talk to their husbands but that "they don't pay any attention." Others simply leave home until their husbands sober up. Religious sanctions lessen drunkenness among the Presbyterians, but the group is small. 733

The Papago lay part of the blame on the federal law which forbids the sale of liquor to Indians; they say that forbidding the possession of something is a challenge. Whether or not this contention is justified, the real difficulty with drunkenness has coincided with the period of accelerated acculturation and particularly with the transfer from a barter to a cash economy. Illicit liquor is easily acquired when one has money, and with the prevalence of wage work almost every Papago man has cash. Possibly the speed of acculturation has brought with it conflicts and maladjustment for which compensation is sought in drinking. The disappearance of the old village games and races, which used up much surplus energy and sometimes required arduous training, may also have brought about recourse to other forms of stimulation and excitement. The problem remains difficult and pressing, for no adequate solution has been found. 733 177

CURING SICKNESS AND COUNTERACTING MISFORTUNE

In an environment which requires constant and hard labor, sickness might well be one of the most dreaded misfortunes. This attitude has probably been reinforced by the grave health problems of the Papapo (see chap. vii). 753

The Desert People believe that sickness and other misfortunes come from offending one of the many supernatural forces which menace humans. From early childhood they are taught what to-do and what not to do in order to maintain the right relationships with these forces.

Certain rites must be performed for every individual: if a baby is not taken to a medicine man a month or so after birth, he may fall sick or die. If he does undergo the proper rite (see chap. viii), he will be healthy, a good worker, and a swift runner. The girl who does not consult the medicine man at her first menstruation may be consumed by fire and may bring misfortune to all her relatives (see chap. x). Even some of the Presbyterian Papago feel uneasy unless this ceremony is performed.

Dead persons are potential threats to health and good fortune, and care is taken to avoid offending them lest their ghosts return to bring sickness upon their living relations. Until about thirty years ago, the Papago buried their dead in little stone replicas of houses on a hill near each village. Personal property was buried with the corpse—a man's saddles and bridle, his tools and clothing, and any ceremonial paraphernalia he might have; the baskets a 753 761 764

4: Joseph et al D, E-5 (1942-1943) 1949
NU28 Papago NU28

764 woman had made and any favorite possession; the toys of a child. Food was often interred with the body. Then the house where the death had occurred was torn down, and the name of the dead person was mentioned no more.

Nowadays the dead are interred in cemeteries which are usually blessed by Christian clergy. The bodies are placed in coffins in white fashion, but sometimes extra clothing is buried with them. In some places Roman Catholic and Presbyterian Papago bury their dead in a miniature adobe house under the ground. The house of the dead person is usually not destroyed, particularly if it is a substantial one, and his name is more freely mentioned than in former times.

753 [821] But ghosts are still believed to bring sickness, returning as owls or other animals, usually at night. Most children are terrified of the dark, and many adults are distressed if at night they see an owl or coyote.

825 753 All animals are endowed with supernatural power, which they may use to help humans, but, if offended, to send sickness. This possibility, together with the fact that it may be a ghost, makes any animal a potential threat, hence the Papago fear animals and take great care not to offend them. If you imitate the bobwhite's whistle, the Desert People believe, your house will burn down. If rabbit blood touches your body or eyes, you will have sores or become blind. The breath of dogs will bring illness. Some animals are especially dangerous; the wild horse, for example, is associated with evil. Others are dangerous to children. These are only a few instances of widely prevalent animal superstitions.

Humans may escape the wrath of animals through avoidance. Children are taught not to play near gopher holes and to keep their distance from all other wild animals. Even those which are killed for food are handled as little as possible. But if one must be near animals, he may use magic to protect himself. For example, men who break wild horses take magical precautions against acquiring horse sickness.

753 181 Illness can also be brought on by thinking evil thoughts. The great emphasis placed by the Papago on peaceful living and their avoidance of quarreling has already been noted. A Papago is constantly adjured not only that quarreling is morally wrong but also that the kinds of thoughts that cause quarrels may bring illness.

753 831 According to Papago belief, a special sort of sickness may be caused by letting one's thoughts dwell too much on sexual matters, although the Desert People have a lively interest in sex, and many of their jokes and nicknames are based upon it.

000 If, despite all precautions, a Papago becomes sick, he goes to a medicine

4: Joseph et al D, E-5 (1942-1943) 1949
NU28 Papago NU28

872 tremely shy with her in the beginning, staring soberly at her when addressed, sitting at his desk without moving, and following the example of others when response is expected of him. He resents any physical contact with the teacher and shrinks away if she leans over to help him or puts a friendly hand on his shoulder. In a fairly short time, however, his shyness decreases; he talks in Papago to the other children in front of the teacher, speaks up when reciting, and sometimes even begs to be "next." When the child relaxes into the fun-loving little person he ordinarily is, he frequently becomes noisy and has to be asked to be quiet. He does so, momentarily at least, and takes the rebuke as a matter of course. Ordinarily he minds the teacher rather well. Little girls spend a good deal of their free time with the teacher, watching her every move with curiosity, trying to talk with her, and always beaming at any attention.

SICKNESS AND HEALTH

753 857 Long before he is five years old, the Papago child knows and fears sickness.[7] He has already learned that contacts with animals and with ghosts appearing in animal form may make him ill. Now he is taught that his own bad thoughts may also bring sickness (see chap. vi), and he has also learned to fear the power of the "bad" medicine man or witch.

755 957 In time of illness attributed to any of these causes, the child has implicit faith in the "good" medicine man, for the shaman is often someone he knows or even a relative. The youngster has no fear of him, although he does stand in some awe of the medicine man's power to communicate with the terrifying animals and ghosts. During this age period the shaman does not perform over the child any rite similar to the birth or puberty ceremonies, but he becomes a familiar and trusted figure.

857 759 609 To the school doctor and nurse, however, the child's reaction is very different. When he undergoes a physical examination at school each year, he is liable to be very frightened; he does not like to be touched by the white medicine man, and he resents being even partially disrobed. The teacher knows this and tries to fortify him while he is being examined. After several visits of the doctor or nurse,[8] the youngster becomes somewhat accustomed to them and, if not undressed, will submit to examination with no show of nervousness except extreme quiet. He will allow external medicines to be used on him and will take cough syrup, and sometimes he asks the teacher to clean or bandage a sore or cut.

7. For discussion of the health of Papago children see chap. xii.

8. Doctors come to the school once a month, nurses semimonthly.

4: Joseph et al D, E-5 (1942-1943) 1949
NU28 Papago NU28

153 It is probable that in Papago children the quality of fear may change from case to case and in most of them may be complex. Besides "objective" fear, as justified by an actually dangerous event, they probably will hold in varying degree fear of the supernatural either as an actual component of the frightening occasion or as a future threat, which may become active whenever special circumstances provoke a supernatural interpretation. The less acculturated western children, whose daily contact with animals does not differ from that of eastern children, show a markedly greater fear of animals.

Since, at the same time, the *range* of admitted frightening experiences is the same in both districts, it seems plausible that the difference between the two areas in fear of animals may be due not to a difference in experience but to a change in attitude. This theory seems to be supported by the fact that eastern children show a relative increase in the vague, indefinite anxiety which in the test appears as fear of loneliness, of the darkness and stillness of night, and the like—fears which are termed "subjective" in Table 9. This anxiety apparently increases where fear of the supernatural is low or not admitted, as the responses of white children and of the strongly acculturated Sioux[2] seem to indicate. Besides this anxiety, which in the eastern Papago is apparently the main substitute for fear of animals, children from that district show an increase in clearly "objective" fear.

THE "WORST THING"

153 753 In asking the children about the "worst thing that could happen" to them, the testers expected to obtain an impression about their main concepts of the "avoidable," as developed from various negative experiences and emotions, as well as from observed and taught negative values. Papago children's answers to this question show that to them sickness is the worst of all things (see Table 10). Though this concept fits well with the observed high incidence of sickness among the Papago and with the physically uncomfortable conditions to which a sick Papago child often must submit, it probably reflects also the crucial position which the concept of sickness occupies in Papago supernatural beliefs (see chap. vi). Among the Papago such beliefs are still functioning with great strength as demonstrated by the medicine man's influence and by the wide use people make of his services today.

Of all areas of life in which the belief in supernatural influence and direction may anchor, those of sickness and death usually yield last to attacks from science. To the sick man, helpless and insecure, the thought of being a victim of his own guilt and an object of the intention of a supernatural force appar-

2. See Gordon Macgregor, *Warriors without Weapons*, p. 191.

4: Joseph et al D, E-5 (1942-1943) 1949
NU28 Papago NU28

ently holds much consolation. It increases his feeling of importance, gives an egocentrically meaningful interpretation to the causes of his suffering, and thus leaves open unto the end a hope of recovery—because what is caused through guilt or through a higher will may be undone through repentance and sacrifice, attempts at reconciliation, or the employment of a power greater than that which sent the sickness.[3]

Thus it is not surprising that the change in values we have observed in other spheres among the eastern Papago children is not noticeable with regard to the concept of sickness. In contrast to white children, Papago children from both districts mention death as the "worst thing" less often than sickness. This may be due partly to avoidance of mentioning death; the Papago child's mind

TABLE 10

THE "WORST THING THAT COULD HAPPEN," AS DESCRIBED BY CHILDREN OF TWO PAPAGO AREAS AND BY WHITE CHILDREN (ROUNDED PERCENTAGES OF ALL RESPONSES)*

Source	Western Papago	Eastern Papago	All Papago	Whites
Sickness	30	36	38	11
Death	9	14	10	20
Bad behavior	9	19	16	5
Inadequacy or failure	5	5	4	18

* For source of data see Table 4. For age limits of the various groups and relations of columns see Table 6.

will necessarily dwell more upon the most common effect of magical activity, i.e., sickness.

Among other concepts of the "worst thing" we find again that personal badness or bad behavior are mentioned more often in the East than in the West. The most striking difference between white and Papago children besides the reversed evaluation of sickness and death, is white children's great concern about their own inadequacy, which to Papago children is of very little importance.

IMMANENT JUSTICE AND ANIMISM

In connection with what has been said about the role which the supernatural seems to play in certain emotional experiences of Papago children, the results of the test for belief in "immanent justice" and "animism" are of particular interest.

This test does not refer to actual experiences and their emotional interpreta-

3. There are many examples which show that in these crises the appeal to supernatural and even magical forces and means is not rare in modern white society.

6: Densmore E-5 (1920) 1929NU28 Papago NU28

524 one thus exposed the score was 4; No. 2 gave a score of 6; No. 3 counted 14, and No. 4 counted 15, the other three sticks, of course, falling with the plain or undecorated side uppermost.

[525] Both of these games are usually witnessed by a number of spectators, and there is considerable betting on the result.

TREATMENT OF THE SICK

●753 It is the belief of the Papago that only a portion of human illnesses and ailments are due to material causes. The portion thus attributed consists of bruises, cuts, and minor bodily discomforts, but what we term "major illnesses" are explained in a different manner. The causes for these are believed to be psychic in character. Certain illnesses were attributed to sorcery and the treatment of such illnesses was in reality a contest between the psychic ("medicine" or "magic") power of the doctor and that of the person believed to be working the evil on the patient. Part of the doctor's skill consisted in his ability to determine who was working the evil, after which he matched his power against that of his adversary. If his power were the stronger his patient would recover; if his were the weaker the man would die. Other illnesses were attributed to spirit birds and animals, to the spirits of the dead, and to other causes of like nature, but in every instance the cause of the disease imparted the secret of its cure to some medicine man, or "doctor." Singing formed a part of the X [533] treatment of the sick and the songs were imparted together with instructions for the treatment. Herbs and other material remedies were sometimes administered, but the knowledge of their use was supposed to be obtained in "dreams."

756 The term "doctor" will generally be used in this chapter to designate a man who treats the sick. The term "medicine man" is more general in its application and may be applied to anyone who achieves results by "magic." The power of a medicine man was psychic in its character and, continuing this terminology, a medicine man may be regarded as a "developed psychic." He might use his power in treating the sick, or he might be a clairvoyant, or he might use his power to evil ends, thus developing his power in the way he desired.

753 The Papago have a tradition that sickness was scattered abroad when Earth Magician disappeared into the ground. (See p. 21.) Comparison with the beliefs of certain other tribes makes it clear that the "sickness" thus spread abroad was not a definite ailment but a general disposition toward illness which became present in the air. A parallel in our own thought is the statement that "the air is full of

6: Densmore E-5 (1920)1929 NU28 Papago NU28

malaria," or "there is miasma in the air" of a certain locality. As Earth Magician sank out of sight Elder Brother seized the feathers on top of his head. The down came off these feathers and Elder Brother, feeling that he had "bad medicine" (a substance filled with potential harm) on his hands, tried to throw it away. He scattered the down to the winds, which carried it everywhere, and sickness became prevalent among the people. 753

The ills of the Papago may be grouped under four headings: (1) Sickness attributed to the action of "bad medicine men," or those who use their psychic power to evil ends. The nature of these "sicknesses" was not determined. The cure consisted in the overpowering of the "bad medicine" by a "good medicine" that was stronger, the treatment being essentially a conflict between the psychic power put forth by one man with evil intent and that put forth by another man with good intent. (2) Diseases attributed to spirit animals or birds. These were believed to cause functional troubles, such as cough, soreness of the eyes, and digestive derangement. The treatment consisted in the singing of songs imparted to the doctor by the animal or bird that had caused the trouble, the singing usually being attended with some physical treatment, such as stroking with feathers or some other object, which had also been directed by the animal or birds causing the disease. (3) Accidents and injuries. For some injuries a cure was provided by a spirit animal of the sort that produced the injury. Thus the present paper contains songs given by a horse to cure an injury caused by a vicious horse. (Nos. 58–61.) These songs were used by doctors in a manner similar to those given by animals or birds for the cure of organic or functional disorders. (4) Diseases attributed to spirits of the dead. These were nervous disorders and were treated in a manner similar to diseases attributed to birds or animals. The spirits supposed to cause these disorders were spirits of dead Papago as well as those of Apache slain in war. Material remedies were not administered unless the means above described had failed to produce results. 753 755

To these ills may be added a "love bewitchment" believed to be produced by the singing of certain songs. This was treated by a medicine man who sang the proper songs. The victim of this "bewitchment" was said to be "crazy" and the treatment was akin to that of a nervous disorder.

In explanation of the first class of ills, enumerated above, it was said that in former times there were "bad medicine men" who spread diseases of various sorts. Hugh Norris, the writer's interpreter at Sells, said that long ago he saw two of these evil men whom everyone feared. Many deaths in a single day were often attributed to their 754

6: Densmore E-5 (1920) 1929NU28 Papago NU28

X533 before the close. Only five intervals are larger than a minor third and all these occur in ascending progressions.

757 Mr. Encinas, the writer's interpreter, said that he once took an herb treatment and that his health was improved for a period of eight years. The medicine was a powerful purgative, yellowish in color and consisting of only one herb. It had no definite taste, and he was required to drink almost a quart of it morning and evening for two consecutive days. There were no songs connected with this treatment. The medicine man died a few years after Mr. Encinas received the treatment, and as he left no son the identity of his medicinal herb has been lost. It was customary to "talk to the plant or tree" when gathering a medicinal substance and also when administering it.

753 825 The following list shows animals and birds said to cause disease, with the symptoms of the ailments.[11] Songs used in treating the first five ailments were recorded.

Deer	Weakness and cough.
Badger	Swelling of the throat.
Horned toad	"If a person steps on a horned toad and kills it he will have a large sore on the part of his body corresponding to the injured part of the toad."
Rattlesnake	Pain around the heart.
Lizard (brown)	Severe internal fever.
Bear	Swellings and soreness.
Dog	Mouth affected, no appetite.
Gopher	Pains around the heart.
Jack rabbit	Boils, especially on the neck.
Rat	Soreness of mouth, affects only infants.
Turtle	Severe lameness.
Blue hawk, eagle, woodpecker	Symptoms not given but were said to be the same in diseases caused by these birds.
Butterfly	Dysentery.
Quail	Sore eyes.
Owl	Sleepiness.
Woodpecker	Boils and sores on the head.

Sickness Caused by Spirit Animals or Birds

753 X539 Jose Panco (pl. 14, *b*), who recorded the next five songs, is using them at the present time (1920) in treating persons suffering from the "deer sickness." He received the songs from his grandfather, who told him of their origin. Not many miles from San Xavier is a mountain called "Kawit" and below this is a village. Panco's grandfather said there once lived in this village a man who went out to hunt every day. On his last hunt he had gone quite a distance when he saw a deer running toward him. The deer came toward him, then turned and ran away from him, going toward the west.

[11] For a longer list see Frank Russell, op. cit., pp. 205-206.

6: Densmore E-5 (1920) 1929 NU28 Papago NU28

The hunter could not get near enough to shoot the deer. Suddenly it turned into a human being and led the hunter into the ocean. The man was gone a month. One day he returned but he was shy like a deer. Outside the village was an empty house and he went there at night, when everything was quiet. He went there and sang all night. The people asked themselves who could be doing that singing. One night they surrounded the house and a man went in. He saw a deer sitting in one corner and singing. The deer tried to run past him and escape but he said, "Don't try to run away. I do not want to hurt you. I only came to see you." They caught him and took him home. He was very thin, as he had eaten nothing but cactus fruit and other deer food for a whole month. They fed him, and after he got well he told the people that if they wanted to learn his songs they might come to the fireplace (chief's house). Night after night he sat there but no one came.

Soon afterwards there was a general "gift dance" to get food at a neighboring village and all who took part in the dance were taken ill with coughing, which is now known to be a symptom of the deer sickness. A *siātikum* attended one of the dancers and sent for this man who had lived on the food of the deer and returned with the strange new songs. He came and sang his songs, and the singers learned the songs and sang with him, but the sick man did not get any better. The *siātikum* was summoned again to see if there were some other cause for the illness. He said that a deer must be killed, skinned, and cut in quarters by an old man known to be expert in the work. He said they must also appoint four expert women to cut up and cook the deer. They must be responsible for every portion of it, even to the smallest particle of blood. Not a bone could be broken, it being required that the carcass be disjointed. If a bone were accidentally broken they must kill another deer. The meat was to be eaten by the singers who were to sing the songs for the treating of the sick. The tail of the deer was taken for use in the treatment, and all the scraps of meat were wrapped and hidden so securely that no dog, coyote, or other animal could ever find them. When this was finished all the sick people were gathered at one place, and a great crowd of spectators and the singers were there. The man who had received the songs led the singing of them and treated the sick people, stroking them with the tail of the deer. They recovered, and ever since that time the songs have been used in treating this sickness. Jose Panco is shown in Plate 15, *a*, treating a patient. In his left hand is the deer tail (pl. 15, *b*) and in his right the gourd rattle (fig. 4) with

FIG. 4.—Gourd rattle

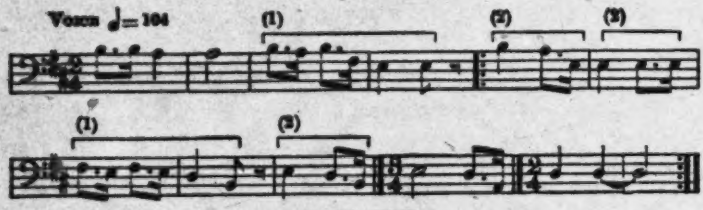
6: Densmore E-5 (1920)1929 NU28 Papago NU28

533X

No. 52. "Toward the Mountains"

(Catalogue No. 1040)

Recorded by Jose Panco



TRANSLATION

Part 1

Hanamikan Mountain calls itself doctor and stands by itself.
Toward it I am walking.

Part 2

Thatkam calls itself brave, standing toward Hanapkam Mountain.

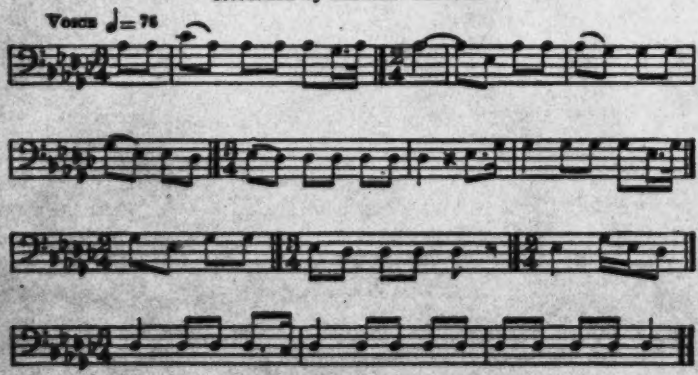
Analysis.—This is the most vigorous of the healing songs recorded by Panco. It has a compass of nine tones, while the preceding songs had a compass of an octave. A dotted eighth note followed by a sixteenth occurred once in the rhythmic units of preceding songs and occurs twice in the first unit of this song, adding to the briskness of the rhythm. The interval of a fourth is used effectively at the close and constitutes 27 per cent of the progressions. The tone material is that of the fourth five-toned scale.

The badger is said to cause an affection of the throat accompanied by swelling. The following is one of the songs given by the badger for the treatment of this trouble. The singer (pl. 16, *c*) resides at Vomari. [825 753]

No. 53. Song of the Badger Medicine

(Catalogue No. 1024)

Recorded by Rafael Mendez



TRANSLATION

I know everything in the bottom of my heart.
From Coyote I learn all this.
I get it and keep it within me, and hold it there.

6: Densmore E-5 (1920) 1929NU28 Papago NU28

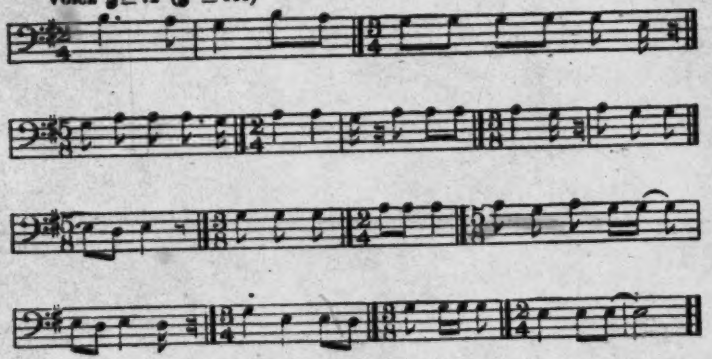
No. 56. Song to a Little Yellow Wasp

(Catalogue No. 1023)

X533

Recorded by RAFAEL MENDEZ

VOICE ♩= 72 (♪ = 144)



TRANSLATION

Little yellow wasp, you throw the dirt in my eyes.
I do not know what to do with you.
All I can do is to make a long-drawn breath, hoping you will die in four days.

Analysis.—The measure divisions and intervals of this song are appropriate to its title. It contains no rhythmic unit and frequent changes of time. The tones are those of the second five-toned scale and two-thirds of the intervals are whole tones.

[753 825]

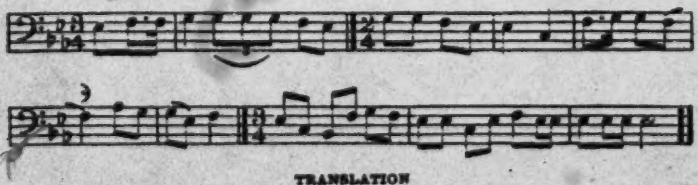
The following was said to be a "general medicine man's song," probably used to cure a disease caused by a brown lizard.

No. 57. "Brown Lizard"

(Catalogue No. 1042)

Recorded by JOSE PANCO

VOICE ♩= 76



TRANSLATION

He hangs it on both sides of himself and rolls around, then he gets up and dances with these on either side.

Analysis.—This is one of the most pleasing melodies recorded by the Papago. It begins and ends on the same tone and contains no rhythmic unit. Five sorts of ascending intervals occur, giving variety to the progressions.

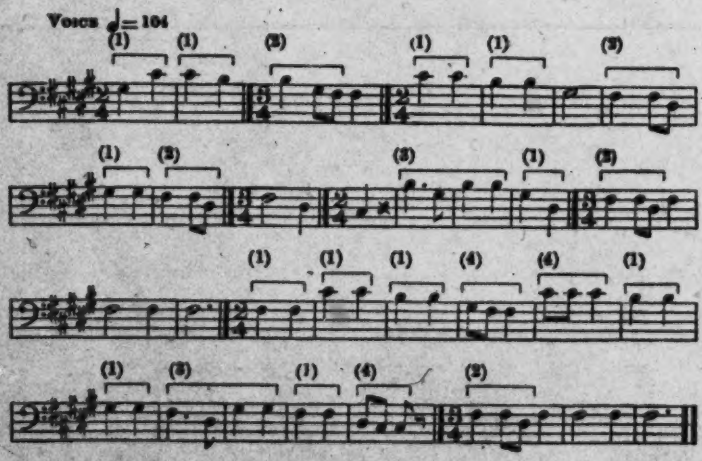
6: Densmore E-5 (1920)1929 NU28 Papago NU28

Analysis.—The general character of this song is plaintive. The phrases contain four measures, except one phrase which is prolonged to a fifth measure. A majority of the notes are quarter notes. The fourth constitutes one-third of the intervals. The ending is similar to others of this group and suggests a question. 533x

Like the preceding songs, this was sung by a horse, heard by a man in a dream, and used in treating persons injured by horses. [755]

No. 61. Song of a Black Horse (Catalogue No. 1017)

Recorded by José Manuel



TRANSLATION

I could go and get some of this yellow poppy flower and a sore would come where it touched your hand, but I have some pity for you though you had none for me when I was in your hands.

Analysis.—This song seems to sum up the rhythm of the three preceding songs, yet it has an individual rhythm. Comparison with the preceding songs will show the resemblance of rhythm. About 26 per cent of the intervals are fourths and fifths. The song is based on the fourth five-toned scale but the sixth tone is particularly prominent, giving an effect of minor tonality.

Illnesses Attributed to Spirits of the Dead

It was the belief of the Papago that illnesses might be caused by the spirits of Apache killed in war, or by the spirits of dead Papago. Songs were given by the spirits for the treatment of these illnesses, which appear to have been nervous in character. 753 775

6: Densmore E-5 (1920) 1929NU28 Papago NU28

753 The spirits of dead Apache were believed to cause three sorts of
775 illness: (1) Koōp, which might affect persons of any age, at any time; (2) Komotan, which affected warriors and unborn children; and (3) Hivicolita, which affected children. The first and second were induced by failure to show respect toward the spirit of the dead Apache and the third frequently attacked the children of warriors who had not undergone the ordeal of purification after killing Apache. Food was taken to the warriors and they were expected to bury any fragments that remained. If one of their children came to the place at a later time, found scraps of food and ate them, the children would develop the Hivicolita sickness. Children who disturbed a "spirit basket" or treated it with disrespect were similarly afflicted. (See pp. 188 and 195.)

[825] The owl is the bird associated with the dead, and owl feathers
x533 sometimes taught the songs used in treating this class of diseases, but
755 a majority of the songs, as stated, were received from spirits of the dead. A doctor could give his songs to another if he so desired, or he could transmit the power to treat these diseases and the man could get his songs from some other source. The songs are in groups of four, such a group being called a "rest." The song is sung through twice, then the latter portion is sung twice, while a gourd rattle is shaken. The manner of shaking the rattle depends on the instruc-
[787] tions received by the doctor in his dream. For example, some doctors are instructed to "roll" the rattle four times before beginning a song, while others shake the rattle sharply four times before they begin to sing. Garcia, who recorded a majority of the songs in this section, preceded his songs by a continuous "roll" of the rattle. The rhythmic form of these songs is different from that of similar songs among tribes already studied. The words are poetic and do not contain the affirmation which characterized the healing songs of the Chippewa.

The songs of one locality differ from those of another and the place where a song "belongs" or originated is always kept in mind. The first two Koōp songs here presented (Nos. 62 and 63) and the two Komotan songs are "used back in the country," while the other five Koōp songs are used in the vicinity of San Xavier. If these
[753] songs were sung apart from their proper use they might produce the diseases they were intended to cure. In such a case it was necessary that the man be treated by one who was skillful in the use of songs.

One of the informants related his own experience, saying he knew many of the songs used in treating these classes of diseases and once became so interested in them that he sang them continually. He said that "his head was full of these songs." His father warned him that trouble would result but he continued singing them. After a time he developed the symptoms of the illnesses which were caused by Apache spirits and he suffered greatly until a medicine man came and

6: Densmore E-5 (1920) 1929 NU28 Papago NU28

sang all night, using the treatments peculiar to his own dream. This relieved the young man and he had no return of the trouble.

Before proceeding further it is important to note the manner of keeping an Apache scalp, and the beliefs concerning it. The scalp of a slain Apache was placed in a basket resembling a small packet. The ceremony connected with this placing of the scalp is described in the chapter on war customs. This "scalp basket" or "spirit basket" was kept with great care and offerings of food were given it. So long as this was done the spirit of the dead Apache was said to be satisfied, but if it were not "properly treated and fed" it escaped from the basket and "put poison in the food," causing disease. If the basket was carelessly treated by its owner he would fall ill, and if one of his children disturbed it the child would be seized with illness at a later time.

When a person was "troubled by an Apache spirit" it was customary to use, in the treatment, certain songs given by Apache spirits for that purpose. The same songs were sung in the *Limo*, which followed the return of victorious warriors. Kiyatan, who recorded Komotan songs (pp. 113, 114), said that in a case of Komotan illness a diagnostician would be summoned and usually directed the sick man to send for a doctor who knew the Komotan songs. The singing of these songs would usually cure the man and he would be up in a day or two. If these were not effective the diagnostician was recalled. He would "look inside," say the sickness was still there, and tell the family they must send for a *siākum*—i. e., a man who had killed and scalped an Apache. This man would bring his "spirit basket" which contained the Apache scalp fastened to a wooden effigy (see p. 195). He would take out the effigy and press it against the man's body, saying, "Cure this man." He also took white clay from the spirit basket, moistened a little of it and applied it to the chest and forehead of the sick person. The diagnostician did not sing, neither did the *siākum* who "made passes over the sick man's body, stroking it to get the sickness out." If this did not cure it was said the man either had two diseases or a different disease than the Komotan. The diagnostician would then consider the case again and summon another singer. Eagle feathers were commonly used in treatment of this disease, the doctor stroking the sick man's body with them.

As already indicated, the two diseases attributed to Apache spirits were known as Koöp and Komotan. Both were attributed to careless or disrespectful treatment of a "scalp basket" and the second was the more severe. The Apache spirits were regarded as small, like pygmies. As indicated in a previous paragraph, they stayed in the "scalp basket" if they were properly treated; if not, they came out of the basket and made trouble. In the Koöp they attacked

6: Densmore E-5 (1920) 1929NU28 Papago NU28

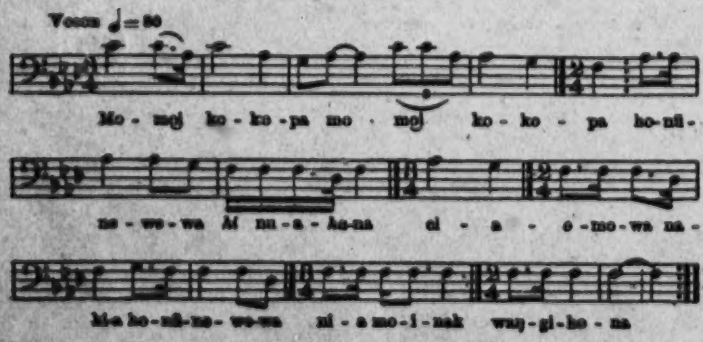
men during dreams and dragged them by a finger or toe. They also "put their little hands on a man's heart and tickle him. This is not so much at first, but if it keeps up a long time it almost drives the man crazy."

The following group of Koöp songs (except No. 70) were recorded by Sivariano Garcia of San Xavier. He is one of the men who are summoned if a man is believed to be suffering from this disease, and these are some of the songs he uses regularly in treating such cases. He also recorded songs now used in treating sickness caused by spirits of dead Papago. (Nos. 72–94.) The present series comprises two "rests" or groups of four songs each and concerns the journey of a Papago in a dream or vision. He is escorted by the spirit of a dead Apache and is obliged to undergo severe experiences in the course of which he receives the songs he is to use in treating diseases caused by the Apache spirits.

No. 62. "Many Spirits Leading Westward"

(Catalogue No. 910)

Recorded by Sivariano Garcia



WORDS

Momoj[13]	kokopa	honünewewa	nuäna
Many	spirits	westward	leading
ciämowa ŋakiä[14]	nyë	mojnak	waŋgihona
hanging	my	heart	strengthening

Analysis.—This is the first of a group of seven songs which are minor in tonality and, with one exception, end on the keynote. A peculiarity of the present song is the emphasis placed on the submediant, D flat. This has been noted in other songs of minor tonality and gives an effect of seriousness. A further peculiarity of this song is the prominence of the major third, which constitutes

[13] The form of this word used in conversation is mul.

[14] The idea is that of an object which pauses or remains suspended in flight, as a bird.

7: Lumholtz N-5 (1909-1910) 1912
NU28 Papago NU28

look upon it as being worth a good deal of money to the 774
one who submits to the operation. His bow and four
arrows, the result of much labor, he sold for $1.25. I [435]
gave him some tobacco, candy, and raisins, and we separated great friends.

In the afternoon I arrived at a house outside of which 755
an old medicine-man, Castillo, was singing to soothe a patient, a middle-aged, powerful looking man who was lying on his back in front of him. His singing was accompanied by the rasping of two sticks; one end of the notched one he held by his left hand, while the other end rested against an inverted basket, and he drew the rasping stick each time up toward him and then down, the opposite movement to the one which we should use to produce the same result. Near the basket on the ground an effigy of a horned lizard had been placed; it [352]
was made of wood and daubed with ochre, its head turned toward the patient.

Some Indians came up smiling as if they wished it to be understood that they did not believe in the performance, for they knew that white men laugh at this. One of them obligingly brought me a basket for sale as well as three small ancient objects, a flint arrow-point, a spinning whorl, and a small perforated stone disk, all threaded on a string. In the meantime the medicine-man, whom I watched from my horse, was finishing his treatment by placing the effigy repeatedly on the patient's leg, breathing and blowing at the same time. The man 755
had a pain in his leg which had been caused by a horned 825
lizard, for, according to Papago beliefs, all animals have 753

7: Lumholtz N-5 (1909-1910)1912
NU28 Papago NU28

753 755 825 the faculty of making people ill except the deer and the pronghorn antelope. To relieve the illness the doctor had sung a song to the animal, asking it to take the 755 pain away. He then walked into his house; somebody must have told him that I was a *makai* (doctor, medicine-756 man), for a few minutes later, to my surprise, he brought out his medicine basket, easily recognized by its long shape, and came up to me. We sat down on the ground; he took off the cover and began to unpack the contents of his tray.

753 Many people gathered around us and the sick man half rose from his mat in order to turn around to see who the stranger was. There were many remedies of a similar character to the one just described. Images of certain animals, accompanied by appropriate ceremonies and exhortations, are thought to relieve ailments. Like the native doctor himself, an animal is thought to be able to cause illness as well as to cure. The turtle [825] causes stiffness, the butterfly produces vomiting, and the badger gives backache. The deer makes persons cough, and their voices weak, and may give consumption; but a deer-tail, placed on a stick and manipulated in the proper way by the medicine-man, will cure that illness, for, as Castillo added by way of explanation, "it is not often you see the deer thin." A piece of clay taken from a gopher's burrow is used against excessive menstrua-[821] tion or stomach pain. The sun is apt to give fever, and a patient suffering thus is relieved at sunrise; during the incantations of the doctor a small wooden image of the sun rests on the ground, while the patient faces the east.